/271 cont./
621 be found also divided into two groups according to their position
616 in relation to the river. Thus we have: /272/
614 Ewâguddudõge čẹbegeʷõge: those of the downstream Buriti
823 Ewâguddudõge čâbõgeʷõge: those of the upstream Buriti
Āróre čẹbegeʷõge: those of the downstream Caterpillar
Āróre čâbõgeʷõge: those of the upstream Caterpillar
Bokodori čẹbegeʷõge: those of the downstream Big-Armadillo
Bokodori čâbõgeʷõge: those of the upstream Big-Armadillo

In contrast, the Paiwe, Bakoro, and Bóro clans are entirely upstream; the Ki, O, Bādejeba, and Apibore clans are entirely downstream.

552 The two houses which respectively face the two doors of the
592 men's house and through which the diameter dividing upstream and
[823] downstream passes have a special name, which expresses their
[345] special position. Their inhabitants are called Baiăddadaʷge, i.e., "those who look at the house" (Fig. 15, Nos. 4 and 17 /see p. 6 /). It should be noted that the door of the men's house
[345] which faces the Tugare half is called Čera, whereas the one facing
[591] the Čera half is called Tugare, marriage being matrilocal (Pl. IX, A /see p. 47/).

Over and above these spatial determinations the natives also use others, according to enumerative order, importance, or familial relations. Certain houses are called Bo'pokẹjeʷõge, "the last ones" (literally: Bo', people; pokẹje, again; wo, there; -ge, plural). Thus we have Bādejeba bo'pokẹjeʷo (Fig. 15, No. 12), the special name of the last house of the Čera phratry, and Ewâguddudõge bo'pokẹjeʷõge (Fig. 15, No. 16).

A household can also receive a special name according to the particular importance of the grouping or construction. Hence House 15 is called, perhaps because of its remarkable form, Ewâguddudõge kurigeŏ, "those of the big Buriti."

[614] Finally, when the distribution of clan members in different houses corresponds to a systematic distribution of relatives of one family, each house is designated by its familial character.

/272 cont./

552 592 614 Thus we have (Fig. 15, No. 17 /see p. 6 /) Ewåguddudōge eten'manaāge: those of the Elder Brothers of the Buriti, and (18) Ewåguddudōge etu'ieemage: those of the Younger Brothers of the Buriti.

614 It is also possible that the adoption or division of emblems among the members of the same clan results in the creation of other secondary determinants. /273/ Several clans are divided in this manner into two subclans distinguished respectively by the colors red and black. Thus:

Apibore Čoreŏ: black (23)
Apibore kujagoreŏ: red (22)
Paiwe Čoreŏ (25)
Paiwe kujagoreŏ (26)
Ewåguddu Čoreŏ (15).
Ewåguddu kujagoreŏ (18).

/Figure 15 appears here./ /274/

Some groups of clans perhaps came from a single clan, as they seem to share emblems: the Bóro acquired an object associated with the legendary history of the Bakoro clan, of which they were no doubt formerly a part, in the same way as the O Čera, themselves also inheritors of a legendary animal of the clan. The Bokodori clan is subdivided into Kōge (gilthead) and Čiba (red arara); but it is not clear whether this is truly a question of subdivisions of a main clan or of a homogeneous clan designating itself by three emblems: "Bokodori and Kōge, Bokodori and Čiba," the natives say, "it's the same thing."

621 552 592 The number of terms used for the definition of the groups is thus clearly more important than the number of houses of the village. The result of this is, first, that different informants do not always designate the same houses by using the same adjectives; the same informant varies equally according to the time and the circumstances. In the second place, each house, or almost each, is found to have, if not always its own name, at least a set combination of the names of the clan, of the position, of the family, etc., which belong /sic/ to it alone. The Bororo village

[TEXT Continues on P. 7]

/274 cont./ The Bororo Village

621 552 592 614 616 is thus composed above all of an ensemble of households, that is, of families or groups of families, living in the same house and styled under this relationship alone. The denomination of the household always involves, among other things, the name of the clan; sometimes it involves the name of the phratry, as is most frequently the case with the Čera. Here is a type list of the households of Kejara aldeia as we were able to make up on the basis of information gathered from our different informants, or from the same one on different occasions (Fig. 15 /see p. 6/).

Čera Phratry:

(čãbõge$^{w}$õ half)

1. Bóro Čera
2. Bakoro Čera-Nogujeba
3. Čiba Čera-Bokodori čãbõge$^{w}$õ
4. Kõge Čera-Bokodori baiaddada$^{a}$

(čębege$^{w}$õ half)

5. Bokodori Čera čębege$^{w}$õ
6. Ki kujagore$^{ã}$
7. Ki
8. O Čera čębege$^{w}$õ
9. O Čera
10. Bãdejeba čębege$^{w}$õ
11. Bãdejeba čębege$^{w}$õ baiaddadawõ (1)

[128]

1. We are allowing this significant anomaly, which expresses the disagreement of two informants as to the position of the diameter of the baiaddada$^{a}$ge (11-20, and 4-17 /see Fig. 15/), to stand.

12. Bãdejeba čębege$^{w}$õ bo'pokęje$^{w}$õ

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598
614
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Tugare Phratry:

13. Ārórę ǩębegeʷõ
14. Ārórę ćębegeʷõ
15. Ęwâguddu ǩereǒ kurigeǒ ǩębegeʷõ
16. Ęwâguddu bo'pokęjeʷõ ǩębegeʷõ
17. Ęwâguddu baiaddadaᵃ eten'manaãge
(cǎbōgeʷõ half) 18. Ęwâguddu kujagoreǒ etu'ieemage ǩǎbōgeʷõ
19. unoccupied shelter
20. Ārórę ǩǎbōgeʷõ baiaddadaᵃ (1)

[128]

1. Cf. Footnote 1, p. 7.

21. Ārórę ǩǎbōgeʷõ
22. Apíbore kujagoreǒ
23. Apíbore ǩoreǒ
24. Apíbore
25. Paíwe ǩoreǒ
26. Paíwe kujagoreǒ

Houses belonging to the same clan are placed side by side, with the exception of those of the Ārórę clan, which is separated into two groups by the Ęwâguddu clan.

Connections with the Economic Organization

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It is difficult to ascertain whether the influence of the natives' contact with civilized people (2) have greatly modified their

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2. We are using this term exclusively to designate the Indian Protection Service. Actually, it would be absolutely impossible to understand the relative stability of the material culture of the Bororo

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8



The moieties have reciprocal

duties; e. g., after a death a member of the moiety complementary to the deceased person's moiety must kill an animal in the ensuing hunt, and after a dance the performers are washed by men of the opposite moiety. At Kejara only the Chera had the right to make bull-roarers.

Colbacchini (1925) ascribes seven clans to each moiety; Lévi-Strauss (1936) found six in the Chera, four in the Tugare. Both authors connect the clans with animal and plant species, and at times the linkage is multiple; e. g., a single Kejara clan is associated with the armadillo, the red macaw, and the dourado. It is not clear to what extent such plurality implies distinct subdivisions or whether a homogeneous clan unit is related to the several species in question.

The association does not necessarily involve a totemic name. This, e. g., is lacking in the baaddegaba clan despite its connection with the jaguar, a fish, and a bird. Since in all cases the linked species are freely killed and eaten, Lévi-Strauss (1936) regards the term "totemism" as inapplicable. According to him, a clan ancestor would receive a revelation from a spirit, whose embodiment in such and such a material guise would create the existing bond with a species and might inaugurate a corresponding appellation for the descendents.

As explained under Houses and Villages (p. 420), a secondary dichotomy characterizes the Vermelho River people; an axis perpendicular to the course of the river creates an Upstream and a Downstream half. This division leaves some of the clans intact, but splits up others into an Upstream and a Downstream section.

The clans have specific prerogatives, whence spring notable differences in wealth. Ceremonial bows, arrows, lip pins, and the pennants on penis sheaths bear designs distinctive of particular clans. Again, clans own personal names, dances (pl. 88), and songs. Certain clans contracted preferential marriages with others, apparently on the basis of personal names.

In the Rio das Garças district each village has two chiefs representing the mythical twins, Bakororo and Itubori, of whom the former takes precedence. Both are of the Weak moiety, but belong to distinct clans or subclans associated with the jaguar. Tradition has it that anciently both were of the Strong moiety. In accordance with the matrilineal system, succession is nepotic.

The chiefs are very influential, but lack coercive authority. They announce in the evening what is to be done on the following day, give marching orders, determine the location of clan huts in the settlement, lead in war, receive messengers, conduct various rites, and generally maintain old usage. But the individual tribesmen retain complete personal freedom, checked only by the vivid fear of disapproval. Even murder, instead of being punished, merely evokes a feud.

In the Vermelho district the several villages are under one paramount chief who enjoys greater power, but this may be due to Neo-

They compare
181 the knowledge they have about their environment with the
82 knowledge of the Brazilian settlers. They know the origins
563 and the names of places, things, plants, and animals; the Brazilians do not. The Bororo particularly stress the number of their myths and songs and the beauty of their ceremonies, especially the funeral ceremonies. The Brazilians, they say, bury their dead as they bury their dogs--under earth without any ceremony.

181 That knowledge is highly valued among the Bororo is sub-
828 stantiated by the fact that the chief of a village is always
622 the most knowledgeable man. Social status and functions are
554 connected with particular lineages and transmitted matrilin-
611 eally, but the true influential leaders and authorities are
613 the men who excel in knowoedge; i.e., they know the myths and
538 songs and their meanings; they know the exact sequence of
533 rituals and the important sacred and secret names of things.
788
552 Pobojari, the Bororo village where most of my research
101 was carried out, was situated halfway between the areas under the administration of the Indian Protection Service and the
121 missions. The choice of the village was determined by the fact that Pobojari was the only independent Bororo village, and we thought that it might be the least acculturated. My wife and I moved into the village in December, 1965, and we lived there until December, 1966. From January, 1967, until June we stayed in one of the missions. From July, 1967, to August we lived in Jarudori. Jarudori was once an important Bororo village but today has become a Brazilian settlement.